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ABSTRACT

Immigration is one of the most significant changes which can occur in one's lifetime. Immigrants struggle with their foreign environment and renewed crises; they suffer from "uprootedness" and "missed embeddedness" and have difficulty integrating their identity roles. Erikson's psychosocial development theory and Marcia's expansion of it are discussed as they relate to the issue of ego identity in transplanted adults. Studies on the achievement of ethnic identity are reviewed. Adult Korean immigrants' psychosocial identity changes are examined (N=79). The relationship between length of residence in the United States and psychosocial development was studied. Differences in psychosocial identity development between a published normative group and the sample group were examined using Hawley's Measures of Psychosocial Development. The instrument was translated and administered in Korean; descriptive statistics are presented for the sample. A linear model analysis was used. Results are presented and recommendations for further study are discussed. Contains 29 references. (EMK)

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IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION OF KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

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Identity Transformation of Korean Immigrants

Since Erikson (1950) raised the issue of identity, his psychosocial development theory which covers the whole life span and emphasizes the role of sociocultural factors on identity development has been widely used and accepted in the field of developmental psychology. Erikson explained the nature of identity with the issue of sameness and change. He stated that identity is "a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity" (Erikson, 1968, p.17). The sense of identity in Erikson's theory is the awareness of the sameness of oneself in his or her immediate sociocultural context and continuity with others. Whenever the sameness and continuity is broken, a crisis arises. Since both issues, continuity and change, are involved in the formation of identity, it tends to be unstable. That is, even though a person achieves an identity, later changes can raise renewed crises. He asserted that "Even though, one has resolved his identity crisis, later changes in life such as immigration can precipitate renewal of the crisis" (Evans, 1967, p.41).

Immigration is one of the biggest changes which can occur in one's lifetime. Erikson acknowledged the instability of immigrant's identity since he himself

was an American immigrant who confronted this crisis in this new land: "As an immigrants faced one

> of those very important redefinitions that a man has to make who has lost his landscape and his language, and with it all the 'references' on which his first sensory and sensual impressions, and thus also some of his conceptual images, were based" (Evans, 1967, p.41).

As Erikson indicated, immigrants struggle with their foreign environment and renewed crises; they are suffering "uprootedness" and "missed embeddness" (Erikson, 1964). Some (Yu, 1977; Handlin, 1973) described the immigrants as the trees removed from their familial surroundings and transplanted in foreign soil. Handlin (1973), perfectly described immigrants' psychosocial situation:

> "Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environment and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behavior were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different. With old ties snapped, men faced the enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances. The immigrants lived in crisis because they were uprooted. In transplantation, while the old roots were sundered, before the new were established, the immigrants existed in an extreme situation. The shock, and the effects of the shock, persisted for many years; and their influence reached down to generations which themselves never paid the cost of crossing" (pp. 5-6)

Concerning the effect of shock, Berstien (1976) and Dubuis and Mounier (1976) describe the adjustment problems of immigrants in terms of their anxiety and stress. They studied immigrants who had been uprooted from their environment and forced to face a new way of life and it's impact on psychological well being. They assert that a mentally healthy people who are able to comprehend reality as a whole and who has the ability to transform it are changing in the process. But they asked how people can be healthy enough to change their reality when they are deprived of every form of social participation and of a former form of identity?

Among the immigrants in U.S., Korean adult immigrants are one of the groups most at risk in this sense, because they are transplanted into extremely different soil; from an Eastern to a Western land. Moreover, the impact of changing is more severe for the adult immigrants than for younger people since the adults have deeper roots; they have already established an identity which was formed in a totally different sociocultural environment.

Psychosocial Development Theory

It was Erik H. Erikson (1950) who first raised the issue of identity in human development. Unlike Freud's psychoanalysis, he emphasized the roles of social,

historical, and cultural factors on ego identity development. However, the most distinguishing mark of his theory is the development of stages beyond adolescence; the theory covers the whole life span of psychosocial development.

Erikson (1956) defined the term identity to include both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others. He also added a number of connotations to the term identity;

> "at one time, it appears to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another to an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis; and finally, as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity" (Erikson, 1956 p.57).

Erikson suggested that eight psychosocial development stages which encompass the whole life cycle.

The eight psychosocial stages; 1) trust vs. mistrust, 2) autonomy vs. shame, 3) initiative vs. guilt, 4) industry vs. inferiority, 5) identity vs. identity diffusion, 6) intimacy vs. isolation, 7) generativity vs. self-absorption, and 8) integrity vs. despair, represent a sequence of ego growth occurring as the individual confronts the crisis in the particular period and resolve the conflicts that are

inherent in the each period of life. The present discussion will be limited to stages 6 and 7 as they pertain the age group being studied.

Marcia (1994) explains that each stage consists of three components; physical maturation, social pressure, and individual's psychological experience in his or her cultural context. He wrote that: "The first is a

> physical developmental underpinning which consists of the individual's needs and abilities noted on the diagram as psychosexual zones and behavioral modes. The second aspect is those social contexts or institutions that have developed throughout a particular culture's history to be preadapted to individual needs and abilities' providing rewards and demands more or less relevant to them. The third component is the psychological meaning or sense of oneself the individual develops as a result of experience of himself or herself in his or her cultural context" (Marcia, 1994, p.67).

The term 'versus' between the bipolar stage issues suggests the dialectic nature of the theory. It represent a positive thesis, negative antithesis, and resolution synthesis whose content is partially determined by the relevant institutions comprised in the person's social context. The sequence of stages is assumed to be epigenetically prefigured (Miller, 1993, p.58) and the degree of successful resolution of the crisis is assumed to be influenced by the individual's particular sociocultural environment.

Among the three major psychosocial development

factors; psychological, physical, and sociocultural environment, the socio-cultrual factor impacts the adult immigrants' identity redefinition process more than the other two factors.

It would seem that Erikson placed a great deal of emphasis on the first and fifth stages because these two stages are the crucial stages for the identity development process. The first stage is the starting point of childhood which will be the base of adolescence, and the fifth stage is the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. According to Erikson, the fifth stage, identity vs. identity diffusion, is the most crucial stage among the eight stages because of it's degree of change and demand of integration. Adolescents are pressed to reassemble the previous identity, and this reassembled identity will be appropriate for the new needs, skills, and goals of adolescence.

Like the adolescents, immigrants have to alter or abandon their previous identity and make commitments in occupation and ideology while they confront the renewed crisis, the conflicts in the new environments. Mostwin (1976) states that "the emergence of the third value, i.e., integrated personality system of immigrants, characteristic of a person uprooted from a familiar cultural milieu to the new environment of a receiving country is a tension producing process. In this, an immigrant resembles an adolescent who

> uprooted from the familiar security of childhood but not yet accepted in the world of adults."

Immigrants are often in an extreme identity crisis; they have lost their land, culture and language; therefore, they need to establish a new identity in the foreign land, culture, and language.

As stated earlier, Erikson (Evans, 1967) pointed out the severity of the identity problems that immigrants face when they are forced to re-examine their identity. However, he had remained vague regarding the course of the identity transformation; such as the nature of the crisis, procedure of the identity redefinition, and the factors which play the main role in this process. Furthermore, there has been criticism (Miller, 1993) that his construct of ego identity, mechanisms of development, and terms used in the theory have been abstract and vague, and those issues remained unexplored.

Ego Identity Status

It was Marcia (1966) who elaborated and operationalized Erikson's construct of ego identity. In his identity status paradigm, Marcia has expanded Erikson's bipolar notion of identity versus role confusion in the fifth stage to delineate four different means by which adolescents approach

identity-defining issues; identity diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure, and achievement. Even though achievement of identity is the main issue of the fifth stage, Marcia's identity status paradigm may be applicable to situations after adolescence.

Marcia also assert that a renewed crisis can force an individual to redefine an once established identity; "An identity may be expected to be disequilibrated and to undergo an accommodative process when it can no longer assimilate successfully new life experiences occurring later in the life cycle" (Marcia, 1994, p.71).

Marcia (1965) determined an individual's specific identity status by using a self-developed measuring instrument - an interview. The result of the interview indicates one's identity status along a continuum of ego-identity achievement. "Identity achievement" and "identity diffusion" are polar alternatives of status inherent in Erikson's theory.

According to Marcia's (1965) criteria, within identity-achievement, the most positive resolution, an individual has experienced a crisis period and is committed to an occupation and ideology. The moratorium status refers to those individuals engaged in decision making with vague commitments. Foreclosure refers to those individuals who seem to have experienced no

crisis, yet have firm, often parentally determined commitments. While identity diffusion status indicates no apparent commitment has been made. Individuals at moratorium, in contrast to individuals who identity diffused are characterized by the presence of struggle and attempts to make commitments. Foreclosed individuals are distinguished from those who are identity achieved by the lack of any crisis period in the former.

Like adolescents, new immigrants can not easily integrate their identity roles (Berstein, 1976; Dubuis and Mounier, 1976; Mostwin, 1976; Novak, 1986). They may face "identity diffusion" and start to again struggle with issues related to commitments, occupation and belief systems. A study which concentrates on these issues has not been found, however, research has focused on ethnic identity development and related mechanisms and these models will be discussed in the following section.

Achievement of ethnic identity

Suggested ethnic identity development models for minority adolescents are very similar in their structures to Marcia's four ego identity statuses. The formation of ethnic identity statuses in the studies

may be thought of as a process similar to ego identity formation that takes place over time.

Cross (1971), Gay (1983), Phinney (1987), Pontertto and Wise (1987) presented models and theories of black ethnic identity development. They suggest that there are stages which black adolescences may go through in order to achieve their own ethnic identity. Using phenomenological data, scattered interview material, and juxtaposing information obtained by simply interacting with black adolescences, they described the process of the black ethnic identity achievement. They found that black adolescents achieve their black ethnic identity after they went through every stage in the models. In the beginning stage of identity development, they experience identity diffusion. Their stable identity (achieved identity) will be established at the final stage in the models. The stages are influenced by an individual's socio-cultrual experiences and psychological interaction with others, and these changes take place over time.

Ruiz (1990), Phinney (1987) examined Hispanic-American college student's ethnic identity development stages by interviews, questionnaires, and counseling. Theses models and finding are very similar to previous studies about black ethnic identity. That is, the sequence of the stages is determined by the

sociocultural factors and the individual's experiences with social context; ethnic identity achievement takes place over time.

Kim (1981) conducted qualitative research while interviewing young Japanese American women which revealed and defined the process occurring in the five stages. Like the other ethnic groups, Asian-American adolescents need to go through the time consuming psychosocial development stages in order to resolve the conflicts raised by psycho-physical maturation and socio-cultrual environment.

Thomas (1985) suggested a general minority identity development model represents a useful scheme for understanding minority client attitudes, values, and behavior. His model outlines five stages of development common to oppressed persons in their quest for identity. The five stages are a sequence of integrated ethnic identity. Within the fifth stage, the last stage, minority people become culturally secure, appreciative of self and others of the same culture, confident, autonomous, flexible, and selectively appreciative toward the majority group. Beyond the earlier ethnic identity which is based on the concept of group depreciative, now they are integrating both cultures in their ethnic identity. Here again, an individual's sociocultural context and

psycho-physical maturation mainly influence the development which takes place over time. Thomas asserted that "Because identity is essentially achieved psycho-socially, oppressed persons strive to achieve self-understanding and acceptance via their own minority culture, the majority culture, and the interactions between those cultures" (p. 125).

Research in this section consist mostly of qualitative studies and the results are derived from the analysis of the interviews. They found very similar patterns of identity transformation which support Marcia's four identity status in the process of identity formation.

As stated above, most of the research focuses on adolescence because the issue of identity achievement is the main issue for the fifth stage in Erikson's theory. However, fortunately, two studies which investigated this troubled group, Korean adult immigrants, focused on the process of and adaptation of these individuals.

Hurh, Kim, & Kim (1978) investigated the assimilation patterns of Korean adult immigrants (age form twenty to fifty years old and over) in the Chicago area. They administrated a self developed instrument, a questionnaire comprising four sections; cultural assimilation, social assimilation, status inconsistency and perception of opportunities in the U. S., and socioeconomic and demographic characteristics to two

hundred eighty three Korean adult immigrants residing in the Chicago area. The result indicates that the length of residence in the U.S. emerges as a critical variable which is highly correlated with the other four variables (e.g. social assimilation). The results strongly supports the idea that the positive relation between the duration of residence and the degree of assimilation.

The other study (Hurh and Kim, 1984) also focuses on the relation between the length of residence and adaptation, acculturation, and social assimilation. They also administer an instrument they developed, a questionnaire, for identifying the relation between these variables. The result of this study on Korean adult immigrants (ages from thirty or less to fifty or more) is similar to the previous study, i.e., the length of residence is the most crucial factor for determining the status of sociocultural adaptation.

Those two researchers suggested that newcomer might face conflicts and experience frustration in the foreign culture. However, ultimately, the foreign, unfamiliar environment will be adopted as their sociocultural experiences are accumulated over time.

The theories and the studies reviewed suggest that identity is not a stable entity and it is influenced greatly by sociocultural environment; changed

environment requires an individual to redefine the person's once achieved psychosocial identity which may can be happened over time. However, to what extent the changed environment affects on the psychosocial identity and whether a successful identity transformation is possible by the time passes in the new environment have not been known until now.

The present study examined adult Korean immigrants' psychosocial identity change. As stated above, new immigrants are forced to redefine their identity in order to move toward a new identity which is appropriate for their new needs, skills, and goals. As the literatures reviewed in this paper suggest, the change occurs over time. Therefore, the proposed research examined the following research questions: 1) Will there be a positive relation between the duration of the residence in the United States and the psychosocial adjustment of adult immigrants, and will it be the same for male and female? 2) Will there be a difference in the degrees of psychosocial development between the norm group for the measurement of psychosocial development and the sample group, Korean adult immigrants, and will it be the same for male and female?

Methods

Subjects

The subjects for this study were twenty-nine male and fifty female Korean adult immigrants who reside in Houston area. Three hundred subjects were randomly selected from a list which data bank, Convenient Name Bank, produced. The list contains 3,040 Korean-Americans' names, addresses, and telephone numbers. The data was gathered from the various sources such as the surname table, religious groups, geographical survey data, etc. The population was limited to the individuals between 29 to 45 years old who arrived in the United States after age 18 and older.

Instrument

Ego identity status was assessed using the scales from Hawley's Measures of Psychosocial Development (MPD), a test based on Eriksonian constructs, which assesses adolescent and adult personality development. The MPD is a self report inventory which provides an index of overall psychosocial health based on Erikson's criteria, as well measures of the eight positive and eight negative stage attitudes, and estimates of the degree of overall resolution for the stage conflict.

It was originally normed with 2,480 subjects aged 13 to 86 single, white, Southern residents with more than 12 years of education. The MPD contains 112 items which represent each of eight stages Erikson constructed. It is self-administered, taking 15-20 minutes to complete. Ideally, the immediate availability of an administrator is desirable, although, it is not typically required.

Respondents use a 5-point scale to rate how accurately the statements and phrases represent themselves. Each developmental stage assessed yields a positive scale, a negative scale, and a resolution scale. For example, for Erikson's first developmental stage, the MPD yields three scales: Trust, Mistrust, and Resolution (the difference between the attained scores on the Trust and Mistrust scales). What emerges for each administration of the MPD is an indication of the relative importance and intensity of the conflicts involved in all eight of Erikson's developmental stages for that individual. Normative data have been provided by the age group and sex in the manual. Three additional scales consist of the total attained on all Positive scales, Negative scales, and Resolution scales. These are also normed by age group and sex.

The reliability and validity data for the MPD was reported in the manual. Hawley (1988) reports two-week test-retest reliability of .87 for the overall

instrument, with individual scale's reliability ranging from .72 to .91. The result of the test-retest correlations supports the stability of the scores over time period. Alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients ranging from .65 to .84 are also reported for samples of 372 adolescents and adults. The value of alpha coefficients, reflects the adequacy of item sampling from the targeted dominion of content. Also, this test's construct validity was investigated using Campbell and Fiske's multitrait-multimethod matrix design, in which an instrument is checked to see if its results coverage with similar tests, and diverge from dissimilar tests, as they should.

The instrument, MPD, was translated into Korean before it was administered. After three people, the investigator of this study and two other professional translators who are working as court translators, translated the instrument, the three translated versions of the instrument were compared: The content of the entire questionnaire is totally agreed by three translators, however, the use of vocabulary on twelve items, #1, 16, 32, 36, 48, 51, 64, 68, 75, 102, 107, was not totally agreed upon. The final decision maker of the use of vocabularies was the investigator who knows what traits those particular items attempt to assess. After the final version was decided, the

Korean version of MPD was administrated to four Korean adults, two males and two females age range of 31 to 48, and two children ages 12 and 13. They confirmed that Korean version of the instrument was understandable.

The front page of the MPD item booklet provides a section of demographic items asking information relating to the name, sex, age, education, marital status of the individual. Among the items, name was omitted in order to ensure anonymity. To assess the durations of residence, subjects were asked their date of arrival in the U.S. Additionally, subjects were asked the occupations held in Korea and the U.S.

Procedure

Three hundred copies of a consent letter, demographic questionnaire, the MPD questionnaire, stamped return envelop, and six hundred copies of answer sheet were mailed to three hundred randomly selected subjects. Every tenth name on the list was selected as the subjects. It was assumed that most of the people on the list are adult and there may be more than one adult in the household, therefore, two copies of an answer sheet were mailed to each individual. The consent letter indicated that only adults between 29 to 45 years old were to respond. A week after the first

mailing, a follow up letter was sent to the same subjects. The time of completion for both-instrument and the demographic questionnaire- is approximately 20 minutes.

Analysis

A linear model analysis was the major statistical procedure used to explore the relations between the variables in the research questions. For research question 1, a linear model was used to determine whether immigrants' MPD sub-scale scores differed by time in the U.S. and by gender. For research question 2, a linear model was used to compare the mean differences between immigrant's MPD sub-scale scores and those of the norm group used to standardized the MPD and to determine whether they differed by gender.

Results

This study examined Korean adult immigrants' psychosocial development by using MPD sub-scale scores of identity (the fifth stage), intimacy (the sixth stage), and generativity (the seventh stage). It's purpose was to determine whether Korean immigrants' degree of identity, intimacy, and generativity resolution was related to the length of immigration and to examine whether a difference in levels of psychosocial development exist between the normative group for the measurement of psychosocial development and the Korean immigrant group. Also, the gender differences on the stated issues were investigated. The results of the linear models analysis are presented as a test of the proposed research questions.

Description of the sample

As stated in the method section, six hundred answer sheets were mailed to three hundred randomly selected subjects. Among them, one hundred one individuals (16.8%) mailed the MPD answer sheets back and one hundred twenty seven (21.2%) original packets were sent back with improper address stamps on them. Among the one hundred one replies, nine did not complete all

questions, twelve were out of the age range, and one was a Chinese. Consequently, seventy nine subjects were included in the study, twenty nine male and fifty female subjects.

Tables 1-5 report descriptive statistics on the study variables. The sample subjects ranged in age from 25 to 49, as specified, with a mean ages of 41 for male and 38 for female. Their length of immigration ranged in year from 1 to 28, with a mean year of 11 for both genders (see table 1). The majority of the subjects were well educated (table 2) and their marital status was fairly stable (table 3).

With respect to the occupation (table 4), the majority of the subjects were engaged in the occupations they have never engaged in before the immigration, and no one reported that the current occupation is higher in social status than previous one. Consequently, the occupations they are engaging in now are lower on the average status than they held before. The relatively small portion of the subjects reported that they were engaged in the same occupation they had engaged before the immigration -- they were professionals such as medical doctors, registered nurses, pharmacists, and engineers. As compared with the males, females were much less employed.

Table 5 demonstrates the sample means and standard

deviations as well as the normative means and standard deviations for the positive, negative, resolution scores for stages 5, 6, and 7 as well as the total resolution scores. The total MPD resolution score represents the degree of overall psychosocial development of an individual. The normative means and standard deviations are listed in the MPD manual. In the manual, the normative means and standard deviations are listed by gender and age categories of 25-49.

Table 1

Sample Descriptive Statistics for the Age and Year

		N	Mean	S.D	Min.	Max.
Age	M	29	41.28	7.28	25	49
	F	50	38.40	7.97	25	49
Year	M	29	11.67	7.01	1	28
	F	50	11.28	7.67	1	28

Table 2

Percentage and Numbers of Subject by Gender with Education Level

Gender	High School Graduate	College Degree	Graduate Degree
M	3	22	4
	10.3	75.8	13.7
F	17	30	3
	34	60	6

Note. Top number - number of subjects
Bottom number - percentage of subjects

*Totals by raw may not be exactly 100% due to rounding error

Table 3

Percentage and Number of subjects by gender with Marital Status

Gender	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Single
M	26	0	0	3
	90.7			10.3
F	43	1	2	4
	86	2	4	8

Top Number: Number of the subjects

Bottom Number: Percentage of the subjects

Table 4

Percentage and Number of Subjects by Gender with Occupation

Gender	Same Occ.	Different Occ.	Unemployed
M	7	22	0
	24	76	
F	9	20	21
	18	40	42

Top Number: Number of subjects

Bottom Number : Percentage of subjects

Occ. : occupation

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of Resolution Scores for Stages 5,6,7 and Total Resolution (Ages 25-49)

	Current Sample		Normative Sample	
	Male(n=29)	Female(n=50)	Male	Female
Identity	15.86	15.84	19.81	19.46
	4.14	3.36	3.64	3.95
Diffusion	11.96	9.90	8.20	8.98
	3.48	3.62	4.32	5.20
Resolution	3.89	5.94	11.56	10.49
	5.79	5.38	7.23	8.43
Intimacy	15.97	16.84	20.33	21.34
	3.25	3.58	3.70	3.58
Isolation	13.20	11.70	9.61	8.15
	3.23	2.79	4.40	4.54
Resolution	2.75	5.14	10.79	13.20
	4.36	4.67	7.25	7.42
Generativity	16.03	15.18	21.11	21.35
	4.09	4.35	3.69	3.63
Stagnation	11.17	10.00	5.01	4.65
	4.63	3.48	3.34	3.69
Resolution	4.86	5.18	16.13	16.68
	6.19	5.00	5.85	6.21
Total	32.55	35.70	104.79	107.30
Resolution	27.12	27.40	40.50	43.72

Note. Top number - Mean
Bottom number - Standard Deviation

Therefore, the study sample was also listed by gender and the same age categories.

As the table 5 shows, the current sample group demonstrated lower mean scores than the normative group for all scales. The difference of the scores are more salient for the resolution scores, especially with respect to the total resolution scores. Unlike the normative group where males scored higher than females on identity resolution and females scored higher than the males on intimacy resolution, the result for the sample group showed that females scored higher than the male subjects on both identity and intimacy resolution scores. Generally, males in the sample group scored lower than females on all of the scores.

Validation of the Korean Version MPD

Reliability of the Korean version MPD is highly acceptable; Rho for the identity, intimacy, and generativity scales are .882, .875, and .875, respectively. Internal consistency (alpha) for the same scales are .82, .91 .84, respectively which is highly acceptable also (table 6).

With respect to the correlation coefficient for the same traits (between positive or between negative

traits), although the values are not very high, it is acceptable (table 6). However, the correlation coefficient values for the different traits (between positive and negative traits) are very low. Moreover, there are some positive values between different traits which should be inversely related.

General Linear Models Results

To examine the research questions addressed in the study, the positive and negative scores for the identity, intimacy, and generativity of the MPD scores and total resolution scores were examined in relation to the length of immigration and gender using a general linear models technique. In addition to the predictor variables, age was included in the analysis as a variable to control for any possible confounding with the relations.

To determine if the length of immigration, gender, and age contribute to the prediction of psychosocial development, the F value and the probability of the F value among the variables were computed (table 7).

Table 6

Internal Consistency (α) for Same and Different Traits

	p5	P6	p7	N5	n6	N7	Sub-P	Sub-N
P5	.82							
P6	.5460	.91						
P7	.5875	.4202	.84					
N5	-.1473	-.0990	.1579	.82				
N6.	-.1919	-.0322	.1905	.4903	.91			
N7	.0839	.1210	.1224	.7329	.5524	.84		
Sub-P.	8787	.6111	.7722	.0304	.2560	.1719	1.00	
Sub-N.	1298	.6360	.2404	.8132	.6964	.8908	.2486	1.00

Alpha based on n=79

As the table 7 indicates, no significant relations between either of the two predictors, length of immigration and age, and the dependent variable were found. The variables, length of immigration and age, do not contribute to the prediction of the psychosocial development of the current sample group. However, the gender difference was significant on two sub-scales, diffusion and isolation, as well as the intimacy resolution scale. Females in the sample group scored lower on the three negative sub-scale than males did, and significantly so on diffusion and isolation. Females in the current sample group performed higher on the three resolution scale by scoring lower on the negative scales than males, but this difference was statistically significant only for the intimacy.

Overall among the predictor variables, the length of immigration and age do not contribute to the prediction of the psychosocial development of Korean adult immigrants while the gender difference was statistically significant on some sub-scales.

In order to examine whether the sample group differed significantly from the normative group in identity, intimacy, and generativity resolutions as well as overall psychosocial development, t-tests were conducted (table 8). As reported in the table, the result of the t-test on each scale indicated the

normative group and the sample group were significantly different from each other on the MPD scores and it is true for the both genders.

Therefore, with respect to research question two, there were significant differences between two groups and for the both genders in each group. Males and females in the current sample group performed significantly lower on the resolution scales than the members in the normative group.

Table 7

F values and probability of F values among the variables

	Id.	Diff.	Res5	Inti.	Iso.	Res6	Gen.	Sta.	Res7	Tot.
Year	1.52	.03	.48	.03	.47	.10	.86	.00	.55	.60
	.2215	.8526	.4886	.8581	.4937	.7585	.3560	.9767	.4598	.4420
Age	.01	1.46	.76	.10	.01	.03	.10	.08	.00	.88
	.9757	.3411	.3857	.5822	.9145	.8659	.6573	.9498	.9669	.1778
Gender	.00	7.01*	3.14	.97	4.50*	4.50*	.76	1.68	.07	.12
	.9668	.0099	.0806	.3278	.0372	.0372	.3859	.1989	.7967	.7295

Id=identity, Diff=diffusion , Inti=intimacy,
Iso=isolation, Gen=generativity, Sta=stagnation
Res=resolution, Tot=total resolution
Top: F value [F(1.75)= 3.92 <.05]
Bottom : probability of F value
*: significant

Table 8

t-test for the Group Mean Differences for Each Gender

	Id. Res.	Inti. Res.	Gen. Res.	Tot. Res.
Male (n=29)	-7.09*	-9.91*	-9.80*	-14.33*
Female (n=50)	-5.99*	-12.21*	-16.20*	-18.50*

[t(28)=1.701, t(49)=1.671 <.05]

Id. = identity

Inti. = intimacy

Gen. = generativity

Tot. = total

* = significant

Discussion

This section will discuss a summary of the findings, limitations of the study, recommendations for future study, and the conclusion.

The present study investigated the relation between the length of immigration and the scores on the MPD sub-scales. Specifically, the study attempted to determine whether Korean immigrants differ from the members of the majority group in this society in psychosocial development as assessed by the MPD, and whether the psychosocial development of Korean immigrants is related to time since immigration. Additionally, this study sought to determine whether these issues are related to gender differences and age.

The results of the present study revealed that even though the gender variable may relate to the psychosocial development, there was no evidence to support the relation between the length of immigration and psychosocial development; however, there was a significant statistical difference between the norm and the sample groups in the identity, intimacy, and generativity stages of the psychosocial development.

As the table 7 suggests, the results of the study do not support the relation between the length of immigration and psychosocial development. Considering

that the literatures argue that the development of ethnic identity and adaptation to a new sociocultural environment are strongly related to the amount of exposure (year) to the new environment, the findings of the present study seem to contradictory. However in the literature, the achievement of the ethnic identity and the degree of sociocultural adaptation were measured by assessing external sociocultural behaviors such as a use of language, race of friends, diet, choice of neighborhood, interracial interaction, occupation, religion; while the MPD assesses internal thoughts or opinions such as the questions for their lives, experiences and themselves. From this point of view, it may be conjectured that the external behavior of Korean immigrants may be socioculturally adjusted to the host culture as the time goes, however, their internal aspect of personality may not as readily influenced by time. The result was consistent with a previous study result (Rosenthal and Feldman, 1992). Rosenthal and Feldman studied the ethnic identity of first and second generation Chinese-American and Chinese-Australian adolescents and they found that there was erosion over time of ethnic identification and behaviors / knowledge but not of the importance and evaluate components of ethnic identity. No change over time occurred in individualism - collectivism, nor did

this measure relate substantially to the ethnic identity measures. Despite some attrition over time of the most external aspects of that identity, those that are more internal are more resistant to change.

With regard to the age variable; age difference in this age range (between 25 to 49) was not the variable which related to the psychosocial development of Korean immigrants. Meanwhile as indicated in the table 7, the degree of the psychosocial adjustment of each gender may not be the same; female Korean immigrants seem to be more psychosocially adjusted with respect to their new environment than males.

With respect to group differences in identity, intimacy, and generativity resolution scores, the differences were consistent with the expectation that the normative group would have better resolution than Korean immigrants. The difference between the two groups' resolution scores was extreme, much greater than it was expected. The results may suggest that Korean immigrants are much less psychosocially adjusted than the normative group. However, considering the instrument, the MPD, is normed by Western-whites, cross-cultural error could be involved in the result. The MPD is reliable and valid instrument as it was discussed in the methods section. However when it was administrated to Korean immigrant sample, reliability

and validity levels were not consistent with reported levels in the manual. While the reliability and the internal consistency of the Korean version MPD were highly acceptable for the identity, intimacy, and gernerativity resolution scores (table 6), the correlation coefficient of the MPD for this specific group was not satisfactory (table 6). This fact suggests that the Korean version MPD is reliable and valid, but the cross-cultural error seems to be involved in the instrument. Therefore, it is assumed that the cross-cultural differences may produce a bias which reduces the internal consistency of the instrument.

With the respect to the cross-cultural difference, some traits which are considered as positive or negative traits in a certain culture may not be considered as same in a different culture. For example: Item #2, " Stick to the tried and tested", is assessing the negative trait in the stage 3, initiative vs. guilt. Although this trait is considered negatively in the instrument, for Koreans, the safety first attitude has been encouraged and taught. There is a saying in Korea which says "Even though a bridge is made out of a solid rock, you should tap on it before you cross it". Unlike American society where the frontier spirit is praised and prevailed, the risk

taking behavior is not considered as a positive trait in Korea which has been suffered numerous foreign invasions for it's five thousand years of history. This people are safety oriented people.

However, it is not necessary to say that the instrument is culturally biased, therefore, the present study results are inconclusive. Because considering the fact that the immigrants are living and functioning in the society where the norm group's standards and values are considered to be a norm, the cultural differences between the sample and norm group could be considered as a factor, rather than a bias, which explains the degree of the socio-cultural influence on the immigrants' psychosocial identity development.

Additionally, since a Korean version of the MPD was administrated, error due to the translation may be inevitable.

The last thing should be considered in this section is the subjects in the current sample group. Because of the low return rate (16.8% of the mail outs) and high improper answer rate (21.2% of the reply) this sample may not be the random sample, therefore, the sample group may not represents the Korean adult immigrants as a whole.

Recommendations for Future Study

In any cross-cultural study, the result warrant replication. Especially in the ethnic group of the first generation Asian immigrants, the examination of additional sample groups would be necessary in assessing generalizability concerns. Also, comparing the results of such studies to results obtained from studies of psychosocial development of men and women who were transferred from extremely different sociocultural environments might be useful in determining if differences exist in psychosocial development by the ethnic groups, i.e., groups from eastern to western or *vice-versa*.

Because it was impossible to administrate to pre-test on the same subjects in this study before the immigration, which is necessary to draw the clear result, this study was not available to determine whether the presented result is due to the immigration or a cross-cultural differences between the normative group and the Korean immigrant group. Therefore, the same test on Koreans in Korea would be helpful to determine the effect of immigration. Moreover, this recommended study might produce a Korean norm for the MPD which can be a reference for this present study.

While the present study did not examine the psycho-

social development of second generation immigrants, this may be interesting to examine. As Handlin (1973) pointed, "The shock, and the effect of the shock persisted for many years; and their influence reached down to generations which themselves never paid the cost of crossing". The second generation of immigrants may also suffer this cultural shock since they are also living in a dual culture, that of their parents' and the host culture. Even though the degree and the form of the impact from the cultural shock may not to be same as for their parents, literature indicates that the second generation of immigrants are going through different identity development process from the members of the majority group.

Conclusion

The psychosocial development should be universal according to Erikson's theory; however, the significant statistical differences on MPD scores between the normative and sample groups may indicate that sociocultural factors play a main role in identity resolution as Erikson asserted. However, the differences between groups were so extreme that testing error (translation problems and validity of their specific instrument cross-culturally) must be

considered.

The results of the present study also indicate that the length of time living in the host culture was not the factor which relates with the psychosocial development of immigrants. Their external behavior, adaptation, attitude toward to the new world may be developed as the time goes by, however, their psycho social development including inner thoughts, opinions, and values may not be changed as a function of time. The "uprootdness" and "missed embedness" which the immigrants are suffering in the new soil may not readily disappear.

Additionally, the result of the present study indicates that the psychosocial adjustment to their "new soil" seems to be easier for adult female Korean immigrants than for their male counterparts.

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